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(Item 142)

From: Ambassador NOMURA  
To: Foreign Minister TOGO  
Despatched: AM 23 November 1941, WASHINGTON  
Received: PM 23 November 1941, Foreign Ministry  
Machine cipher #1159 (Most Secret; Ambassador Code)

On the 22nd, I, together with Ambassador KURUSU, had a meeting with Secretary of State, HULL (BALLANTINE attended). The resume was as follows:

The Secretary conferred with the Ambassador and Ministers of Britain, Australia and the Netherlands on the 22nd, (according to the press reports, about two and a half hours) and he asked for their opinions on the Japanese proposals. They all said that if Japan has firm intention for carrying out a peaceful policy, they would naturally welcome it and they would be glad to cooperate in resuming normal trade relations. However, they said, Japan is expressing her peaceful intention even to the extent of dispatching a special envoy while on the other side, the speech of the politician and the commentary of the press of Japan seem to be running in a completely opposite direction, and so, there are some greatly incomprehensible points in Japan's real intentions. Furthermore, they pointed out that the amount of Japanese petroleum imports up to the execution of the freezing order took a very sudden upward swing and that it wasn't to be used solely for peaceful undertakings but was being stored away by the navy. Moreover, there was an opinion that it would be best to lift the embargo in slow degrees. However, he said, as it is expected that all the concerned ambassadors and ministers will seek their home government's instruction and will receive replies by Monday, he will make a reply again one way or the other at that time. (PART II) Then he expressed much concern over the recent trend of public opinion in Japan. He emphasized that the clarification of peaceful intention by the Japanese Government would be very important for making the American public opinion accept compromise with Japan. (BALLANTINE said that the conveyance abroad of sincerity of the Japanese Government heads toward the Japanese themselves would be more effective than the propaganda for foreign consumption sent through foreign press correspondents and others.) He even went on to say that, to speak the truth, was it not the duty of every politician to strive for peace up to the very day before war is unavoidable? He said that the president and he made the policy of peace clear five times and so it is desired that a response be made at least once. Then we asked,

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leaving British, Australian, and Dutch opinion aside for the time being, what the intention of America herself was regarding our proposal. To this, recognizing that an item by item reply was seemingly our demand, he showed a perplexed look and avoided to answer. In short, he said, the desire of AMERICA, BRITAIN, AUSTRALIA, etc., is to dissolve the pressing situation in the South Pacific area and they are eagerly desiring that the forces kept in check in the same area may be transferred for action in other parts. (PART III) And he said, from the viewpoint they, unfortunately, cannot recognize that our proposal is sufficient. I pointed out that our troop concentrations in the northern part of FRENCH INDO-CHINA were aimed at cutting CHUNGKING's lifeline, therefore, they were for the most part directed toward YUNNAN and were not intended to menace the South Pacific area. Then KURUSU said that the acceptance of our proposal would naturally lead to the conditions desired not only by AMERICA but by the other nations as well. To this, he /HULL/ replied, what these countries desired lay in the quick turn-about in the situation and with regard to resumption of normal trade relations, a gradual advance is desirable for the time being, but when JAPAN's peaceful intention becomes clear, a rapid change will be seen in a few days. He further replied that with regard to stopping aid to CHIANG, they cannot be a fair mediator if they make such a promise to JAPAN, considering the case when AMERICA acts as an intermediary. (PART IV) Furthermore, if they stop the aid with the opening of the negotiations, even though they made such a promise, its value will not be so high. In view of the fact that in any event, the so-called aid to CHIANG KAI-SHEK is not as great as it is propagandized, he replied he cannot accept the insertion of the above items considering the substance of Japanese proposals which intends to improve the pressing situation by the solution of immediate problems and to reach fundamental solution by going further on.

Furthermore, he replied that the time was not yet ripe for the president's mediation at present. I believe that on Monday, AMERICA will submit some sort of a counter proposal, but as I discerned that she would seek out participation in some kind of a proposal which aims to maintain peace on the Pacific and promote trade, I hastened to suggest that it is necessary to make the present problem on hand the agreement between AMERICA and JAPAN, and take the formality of making the other nations participate in this, and KURUSU stated that if it was intended that the above be a sort of a group organization and if it was an arrangement such as to vote us down by majority of voters, we would not accept such a proposal. (End)

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(總 36066)  
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大匠  
次官 スミ

極 秘 館長符號

東郷 外務大臣

第一一五九號

栗利加島  
山本

廿二日本使來栖大使ト共ニハルヲ務長官(ハニニ  
列席)ト會談要領左、通

長官ハ先ツ廿二日英、豪、蘭、大公使ト會見(新聞報ニ依、  
約二時(日半)我々提案ニ付意見ヲ求メタル処何レモ日本ニ  
平和的政策遂行、意圖確固タムモ、ハル次第ナリ、  
勿論歡迎スル所ニミテ通商關係、常態復歸、如  
此ニミテ協力ス(キ天日本カ特使迄派シテ平和的意圖  
ヲ表明シ、アル一方日本政治家、言論及新聞論調等ハ全  
クニト反對、亦回ニ走リオルヤニ見受ケラレ日本、真意甚  
多可解ナル矣下ルニ及凍結令實施ニ至ル迄、日本、石油  
輸入量カ急速度ヲ以テ激増ヲ重ネ来リ平和的意圖  
ニミテ使用セラルルモノニ非ズミテ恣意ニ於窮有ミ、アル等  
、指摘ナリ且「エムバーゴ」解除ハ徐々ニ之ヲ行フコト、必然  
等、意見見アリタルカ關係大公使ハ何レモ本國政府ニ稟請  
月曜日迄ニ同訓ヲ得ルコト、ナリオルヲ以テ其上ニテ更ニ改メ

電信課長 (鑑)

昭和十六年十一月廿三日亦華府發  
十一月廿三日後本省着

(機)

野村 大使

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何、儀同答スヘト述、「日本ニ於ケル言論最近、傾向  
ニ関シ多大、関心ヲ表明シ日本政府、平和的意図(意圖)明  
明(明)ニシタイニハ外ニ新聞記者等ヲ通シタル対外的宣  
傳ヨリ、寧ロ日本ニ對シテ政府首腦部誠意ヲ  
海外ニ傳達セラルコト效果大ナル(ミト述フ)カ米側輿論  
ヲミテ對日妥結ヲ承服セシムル上ニ頗ル重要ナルコトヲ力  
説シ本末開戦己ムヲ得サル場合ニ於テスラ亦日迄平  
和ヲ攻究スルコトコソ政治家、道ナラズヤト迄極言シ大統  
領及自らが五國平和政策ヲ闡明スルニ對シセメ、一回  
モ呼應セラレタキモノナリト述ヘタリ。

次ニ當テヨリ英、豫、蘭等、意向ハ免ニ角トシ米  
ニ自身、我ニ提案ニ對スル意向ハ何ト尋ネタルニ對  
項目ヲ追テ、答弁ハ恰モ要成ト認メ(約行不明)ニ對  
ヲ避ケタルヲ要スルニ米及英、豫等、欲スル所ハ南太平洋、方面  
ノ緊迫セル現状ヲ解消シ同方面ニ抑制セシメル勢力ヲ他  
ニ活用シ得ルコトヲ切望シタル次第ニシテ此矣ヨリ見テ我ニ提  
案ハ遺憾ナラウ充分トハ認メラレト述ヘ「本使ヨリ北佛  
印ノ兵力結集カ重慶、道路ヲ遮断スル目的ヲ以テ主トシテ  
雲南方面ニ向ケラシメルモノニシテ南太平洋地域ニ脅威ヲ及ホ  
サントスルモノニアラサルコトヲ指摘シ米側ヨリ我ニ方案、受諾カ自然  
米始メ各玉、希望スルカ如キ事態ヲ馴致スヘキ端緒トナルキ  
ヲ述ヘタルニタイニ各玉、欲スル所ハ局面、急速ナル轉換ニ  
存スル旨ヲ應酬セリ又通商常態復歸ニ関シテモ先差  
ニ當リ漸進ヲ可トスヘキモノ右、日本、平和的意圖明確ト

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Item 151

Supervised by: Chief of the America Bureau  
YAMAMOTO

Person in Charge: Chief of the First Sect. of  
the America Bureau.

Drafted on November 24, 1941

Cable No. 44502

Despatched: 8:10 P.M. November 24, 1941

Sent to Ambassador NOMURA in the U.S.A.

Sent by Foreign Minister TOGO

Subject: Negotiations between Japan and the U.S.A.

(Conference with Ambassador GREW.)

By Code: No. 822 (Ambassador's Code)

Re: My former telegram 821 A.

I asked the American Ambassador in Tokyo to call on me on the 23rd and explained to him according to the purport of my former telegram mentioned above. I stated at that time that the removal of the Japanese troops from the southern part of French Indo-China to the northern part is of great military significance, that our advance into the northern part of French Indo-China was originally undertaken in connection with the settlement of the China Incident, and the details of how America and Britain have frozen our capital upon our advance into southern French Indo-China. Further I related that it is now absolutely impossible to withdraw the troops entirely; that it is not only the natural, but also the only and best way for the settlement of the Chinese problem that we demand that U.S.A. not interfere with our efforts for peace, on the occasion that the American President as a mediator in connection with the Chinese problem has CHANG Kai Shok propose peace to Japan and Japan enters upon negotiation in acceptance of the proposal; that it is also absolutely impossible, from the point of Japanese national feeling to settle the negotiation between Japan and U.S.A. before this point is clarified, and that we cannot understand why the U.S.A. does not agree to this point. I added that in our new proposal I have made the utmost effort to simplify the situation and to reduce the

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desired terms of the Japanese side in order to cooperate with the U.S.A. in her peace policy and we intend to advance the Japanese policy more and more peacefully according to the above purport after conclusion of these negotiations. The Ambassador took his leave saying that he would immediately cable the above to his home government.



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電信課長 (星山)		發電係	
主信 亞米利加局長 年		主信 亞米利加局長課長 信	
電送第 44502 號		昭和六年一月三十一日 起算	
宛 在米 野村大使		發 東郷大臣	
名 日米交渉		記録件名	
件 (元大使ト、会談ト、件)			
第八二二號 (館長付号)			

85 大臣 往電第八二二号ニ関シ  
 官 物 二十三日在京米國大使、来訪、求メ冒頭往電、趣旨ニ  
 ヲリ説明、加ヘ置キタルガ高其際南部佛印日本軍隊、北  
 部移駐、軍事的ニモ重要意義、有スルコト、北部佛印  
 進駐、元来支那事変處理ト固聯、行ハタルモノ、ニシテ  
 南部進駐トモ、英米側、資産凍結ヲ實施セル終  
 緯、ルコトヲ述ヘテ、全面的撤兵、今日、所絶対不可  
 能、ルコト又支那問題ニ付米大統領、紹介者ト  
 シテ將介石ヲシテ日本ニ対シテ和平ヲ提議セシメ日本  
 之ニ應ジテ交渉ニ入ル際我方ニ於テ米國カ和平  
 ノ格カヲ妨碍セラルヘキコトヲ要求スル、当然ノ儀ナ  
 ル、ミナラスガ解決、最善唯一ノ方法、ナリ、而此、兵  
 ヲ明確ニモス、ニテ日米交渉ヲ取纏ム、日本、國民  
 感情上ヨリモ之亦絶対不可能ニシテ米國カ此莫ヲ  
 承認セサル、理解、難キ、日ヲ述ヘ、我方、新提議、

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本大臣トシテハ米國ノ平和政策ニ協調スル見地ヨ  
リ最大盡力ヲ以テ日本側ノ希望條項ヲ減少スリ  
タムトシ事能ク以テ同明ニテトウメタルモノニテ本交渉  
成立ノ上ハ右ノ趣旨ニテ日本ノ政策ニ益之ヲ平和  
的ニ進ス度キ意嚮ナリト、趣旨ヲ附加シ置タル  
カ今大使ハ早速右ノ本國政府ニ電報スヘシトテ  
辭去セリ



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Item 152

Supervised by: Chief of the America Bureau  
YAMAMOTO

Person in charge: Chief of the First Sect. of the America Bureau

Drafted on November 24, 1941

Cable No. 44503

Despatched 8:15 p.m. November 24, 1941

Sent to Ambassador NOMURA

Sent from Foreign Minister TOGO

By Code: No. 823 (Ambassador's code)

To both Ambassadors

The date of my former telegram No. 812 is in Tokyo-time.

By Way of Precaution.

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621186

電送第 44503 照		主 監 西米利如局長 任 米一長修 昭和十六年十一月二十二日 起草	
昭和十六年十一月二十四日 午後八時十五分	件 名	宛 野 村 大 使	發 東 郷 大 臣
平 路	第 二 三 號 (館長符子)		
<p>兩 工 使 へ</p> <p>往電第 八 二 四 一 期 日 二 電 告 時 間 十 二</p> <p>為 念</p>			